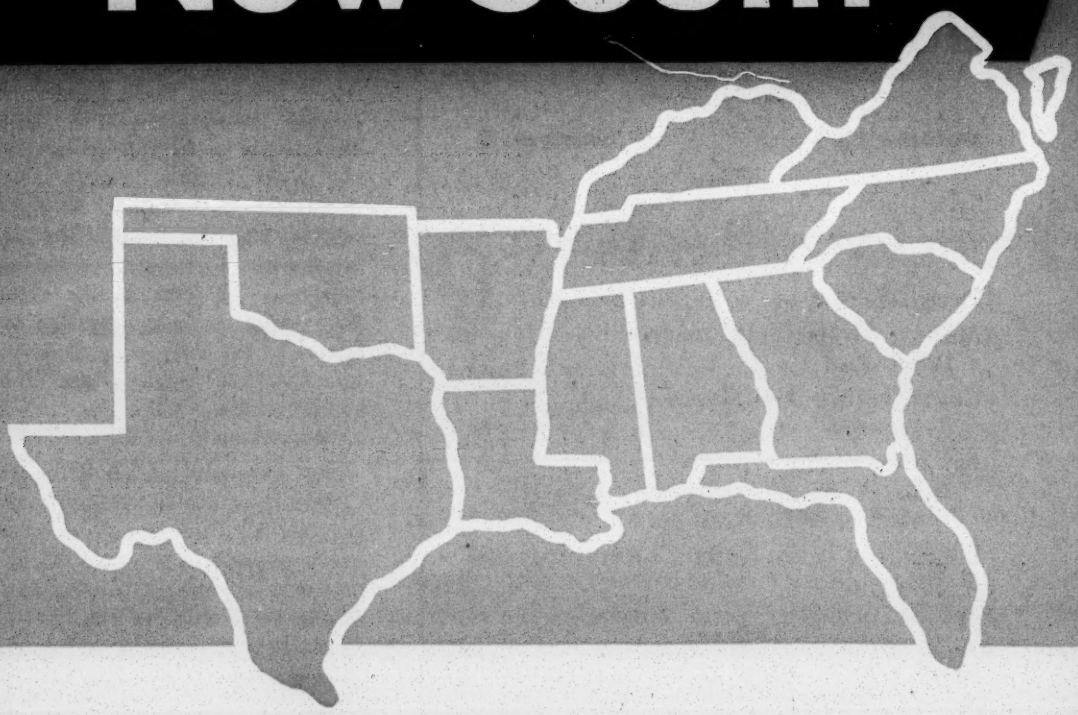
New South



- Desegregation or No Public Schools
- Massive Resistance Reaches Dead End
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- Arkansas Cannot Afford Racial Strife
- Highlights of Recent Literature

MARCH / 1959

New South

Published by

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta 3, Georgia

March, 1959

Volume 13 **Number 3**

Contents

Desegregation or No Public Schools 3

Massive Resistance Reaches Dead End 7

Court Ruling Hits Massive Resistance 8

Arkansas Cannot Afford Issue of Racial Strife *by Erwin L. McDonald* . . . 11

Highlights from Recent Literature 13

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Subscription rate . . . . . $2.00 a year

New South is published monthly except August by Southern Regional Council, Inc., 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta, Georgia. Single copies may be purchased at twenty cents each; quantity rates on request.

Contributions to the Southern Regional Council are tax-exempt

New South Notes

The two alternatives for the South have been clear for a long time. These are desegregation of schools or the abolition of the public schools as we enjoy them today. The choice has been there, but it was brought home again with some force in the recent three-judge federal court decision involving the closing of the Norfolk, Virginia, schools. That decision and the one by the U. S. Supreme Court on September 29, 1958, in the Little Rock, Arkansas, case were decisive factors in the collapse of "massive resistance" in Virginia. The lead article in *New South* this month concerns these two rulings.

The Cheraw Chronicle of South Carolina has carried some interesting editorial comments on the current segregation controversy. We believe that newspaper's editorial concerning the collapse of "massive resistance" in Virginia is of interest to *New South* readers and so it is reprinted here.

To supplement the lead article this month, *New South* reprints important excerpts from the three-judge ruling concerning Norfolk. This ruling should be examined carefully by states with "massive resistance" programs similar to that originally pushed in Virginia.

Although far-sighted citizens of Virginia are beginning to move toward a sensible solution to the segregation problem, schools are still closed in Little Rock, Arkansas, and the problems there are still to be solved. Arkansas and other deep South citizens should heed the voice of Erwin L. McDonald, editor of the *Arkansas Baptist*. Some of Mr. McDonald's advice is reprinted here from the *Arkansas Gazette*.

Desegregation—

Or No Public Schools

The ruling by the three-judge federal court that broke the back of Virginia's "massive resistance" only serves to clarify what other court orders had pointed to in the past—that is, some desegregation in public schools or no public schools.

This ruling *(James v. Almond)*, applying to Norfolk, Virginia, finally clarified the picture as far as Virginia is concerned and should serve to point up the two alternatives remaining to other deep South states which now have "massive resistance" programs.

Wisely, Governor Lindsay Almond recognized that a state cannot successfully defy a federal court order. Following the three-judge ruling, January 19, 1959, Gov. Almond said that the state's police power cannot be used to thwart a valid court order and that the General Assembly cannot give him power to padlock schools.

"It should be clearly understood," he said, "that the governor, the attorney general, and any other officer of the state, is as amenable to suit as any other citizen when he seeks to perform an unlawful act, or to do an unconstitutional thing under the guise and cloak that it is an act of the state and not of the individual."

This is clear reasoning on the part of Gov. Almond. However, it came too late to prevent some damage to public education in the state of Virginia since some schools in three Virginia cities had been closed since September of 1958. And the tragic part is that this course had been made clear in an earlier court decision.

The recent three-judge ruling follows closely the U. S. Supreme Court decision of September 29, 1958 *(Cooper v. Aaron)*, in which the Court explained its reasoning for upholding a reversal of Judge Lemley's delay of desegregation in Little Rock's Central High School.

In the Lemley decision, the Supreme Court ruled that the state's police power cannot be used to deprive citizens of their constitutional rights.

In clear, unmistakable language, the Court said:

"The Constitutional rights of respondents are not to be sacrificed or yielded to the violence and disorder

which have followed upon the actions of the Governor and Legislature.

"As this Court said some 41 years ago in a unanimous opinion in a case involving another aspect of racial segregation: 'It is urged that this proposed segregation will promote the public peace by preventing race conflicts. Desirable as this is, and important as is the preservation of the public peace, this aim cannot be accomplished by laws or ordinances which deny rights created or protected by the Federal Contitution.' *Buchanan v. Warley,* 245 U. S. 60, 81.

"Thus law and order are not here to be preserved by depriving the Negro children of their constitutional right . . . In short, the Constitutional rights of children not to be discriminated against in school admission on grounds of race or color declared by this Court in the *Brown* case can neither be nullified openly and directly by state legislators or state executive or judicial officers, nor nullified indirectly by them through evasive schemes for segregation whether attempted 'ingeniously or ingenuously.' *Smith v. Texas,* 311 U. S. 128, 132."

Law Supreme

The Court again reaffirmed the basic principle that the "Federal Judiciary is supreme in the exposition of the law of the Constitution," and that its rulings could not be nullified by state officials.

Speaking to this point in the Lemley decision, the Court said:

"No state legislator or executive or judicial officer can war against the Constitution without violating his undertaking to support it.

"Chief Justice Marshall spoke for a unanimous court in saying that: 'If the legislatures of the several state may, at will, annul the judgments of the courts of the United States, and destroy the rights acquired under those judgments, the Constitution itself becomes a solemn mockery . . .' *United States v. Peters,* 5 Cranch 115, 136.

Restraints

"A governor who aserts a power to nullify a federal court order is similarly restrained. If he had such power, said Chief Justice Hughes, in 1932, also for a unanimous court, 'it is manifest that the fiat of a state governor, and not the Constitution of the United States, would be the supreme law of the land; that the restrictions of the federal Constitution upon the exercise of state power would be but impotent phrases . . .' *Sterling v. Constantin,* 287 U. S. 378, 397-398."

In the Lemley decision, the Supreme Court also set the stage for the prevention of segregated private school set-ups which used public funds. Here the Court said, "State support of segregated schools through any arrangement, management, funds, or property cannot be squared with the [14th] amendment's command that no state shall deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the law."

The Court emphasized that it was not attempting to assume responsibility for public education within a state. On this subject, the Court said, "It is, of course, quite true that the responsibility for public education is primarily the concern of the states, but it is equaly true that such responsibilities, like all other state activity, must be exercised consistently

with federal constitutional requirements as they apply to state action. The Constitution created a government dedicated to equal justice under law. The 14th amendment embodied and emphasized that ideal."

As precise as the language of the September 29 ruling is, that of the three-judge ruling concerning Virginia is more to the point. Here, where plaintiffs were white Virginia students, the court told state officials that they could not close one public school or grade in the state to avoid the effect of the law while the remaining schools in the state remain open. (Excerpts of this ruling are reprinted elsewhere in this issue.)

The court said it did "not suggest that, aside from the Constitution of Virginia, the state must maintain a public school system. That is a matter for state determination." But the court pointed out that "the closing of a public school or grade therein . . . violates the right of a citizen to equal protection of the law and, as to any children willing to attend a school with a member or members of the opposite race, such a school-closing is a deprivation of due process of law."

Far Reaching

Then the court said that "it follows, therefore, that the defendants must be permanently enjoined from enforcing or attempting to enforce the statutes in question as the same may apply to the public schools of the city of Norfolk."

This ruling, of course, applied only to Norfolk and had immediate effect only on the state of Virginia. Immediately following the ruling, some officials of other deep South states issued statements which gave the impression that laws in those states were different and might withstand court rulings where Virginia's laws had not.

If one reads the Virgina court ruling carefully, it is puzzling to see how anyone could hold out any hope for continuing totally segregated *public* schools.

Binding

That the *Brown* decision of 1954 is binding on all states is again clearly stated in the three-judge ruling. The court said:

"Irrespective of what may be said by those in public life, we are gratified to note that counsel for the defendants, including the attorney general of Virginia, concede that the decisions of the U. S. Supreme Court are not only binding upon the court but also constitute the law of the land. If there ever existed any room for doubt as to the controlling force of the principles of law enunciated in *Brown v. Board of Education* . . . these doubts were effectively removed when, on September 29, 1958, the Supreme Court handed down its opinion in *Cooper v. Aaron* . . . wherein *Brown* was expressly and unanimously reaffirmed."

And then the court, in a far-reaching statement, placed a damper on the various evasive methods of states to maintain public schools in the guise of private education. Here, the court said:

"While the State of Virginia, *directly* or *indirectly*, maintains and operates a school system with the use of public funds, or *participates by arrangement or* in the management of such a school system, no one public school or grade in Virginia may be closed to avoid the effect of the law of the land as interpreted by the Supreme Court, while the state permits other public schools or

Desegregation

(Continued)

grades to remain open at the expense of the taxpayers" (Editor's italics).

And the court extended this opinion to the local level by saying, "In the event the state of Virginia withdraws from the business of educating its children, and the local governing bodies assume this responsibility, the same principles with respect to equal protection of the laws would be controlling as to that particular city and county."

Virginia delayed the inevitable choice between the two alternatives—desegregation or abolition of public schools statewide—until the last possible moment. Then state officials chose to keep a system of public schools.

Other states now facing these alternatives are following the same course first taken by Virginia; that is, delay of decision until the last possible moment. The closing of a few schools in Virginia hurt the localities involved although the schools were closed for only a short interval.

The alternatives for the South have been made clear. If, as in Virginia, other deep South states finally choose public schools with desegregation, the remaining question is how much damage will be done to public education before this choice is finally made.

Protection of the Law

There is so little time for all of us to come to the understanding that "protection of the law" is our greatest possession—that, if we keep the law, the law will keep us.

The disinherited, the despised, the persecuted of many lands came here. From the bitter experiences which they had known came our constitution, our laws. Because we possess the "protection of the law," we have been able to build our homes, have our families, to worship in our churches and synagogues, to attend our schools, to operate our businesses.

Under law we become an orderly people fulfilling our destiny; without law there is chaos.

For self-protection, if for no other reason, we must stand together in the pledge that we will keep the law. When we allow our democratic system to falter, the hopes and the confidence which the peoples of the world have in us are shaken. The sad truth is that there are only two earthly directions in which mankind may look — one is towards Kadan, the other here.

It should be our hope that the peoples of the world will continue to face America—that the dreams which they have of peace and opportunity may in time become realities for them in this land—and that, from our homes, our churches, our synagogues, and from all this land, may go forth the spirit which will in due season make peace on earth, good will to men a reality over all the world.—*Attorney General Malcolm B. Seawell of North Carolina at the B'nai B'rith meeting in which he was presented the "Four Chaplains Award."*

Massive Resistance Reaches Dead End

From
The Cheraw (S. C.) Chronicle
February 5, 1959

Boom! Clatter! Crash! That noise you hear is the fall of massive resistance in the Old Dominion.

If the voters in Virginia don't realize now that Gov. Lindsay Almond and the Byrd machine led them down a primrose path, they're incurable.

Opponents to the Lindsay-Byrd forces prophesied with complete accuracy exactly what would happen when the massive resistance laws were tested before both the State Supreme Court and the U. S. Federal Courts. The people were, however, spellbound by the political oratory of Gov. Almond. There are, apparently, none so blind as those who will not see, none so deaf as those who will not hear.

The many test cases, the court orders, the political demagoguery, the bitter recrimination, the collapse of the lines of communication between white and colored citizens of Virginia, the constitutional stresses and strains within the Republic, the unfavorable world-wide publicity—all these things were unnecessary and could have been avoided had Virginia's politicians offered statesmanlike leadership.

They did not even have to originate any new ideas. The pioneer work had already been done for them. All they had to do was to cast their eyes south to North Carolina or west to Tennessee, which had already demonstrated how to have one's cake and eat it, too—how to maintain the basic framework of their social traditions while living within the law of the land and safeguarding their public school systems.

It was a sad spectacle to see Virginia —mother of presidents, creator of the Republic, spiritual leader of revolutionary thought, capital of the Confederacy —forfeit her leadership to her sister states.

Gov. Almond, however, is to be credited for his resistance to the bitterenders in the Virginia General Assembly who urged him to use his "police powers" illegally to prevent any token integration. Virginia is to be commended, we suppose, for refusing to follow the example of Gov. Orval Faubus and the state of Arkansas.

The Governor is also to be thanked for his forthright statement that he will not tolerate any acts of violence or lawlessness and for his plea for public restraint and order. The calm which prevailed Monday at Arlington and Norfolk indicates, however, that the great majority of Virginians have been ahead of their leaders all the way.

Court Ruling Hits Massive Resistance

Following are excerpts from the three-judge federal court decision in the case of *James v. Almond* in which the court struck down the "massive resistance" laws of Virginia. The court ruling led to the reopening of some Virginia schools which were closed to circumvent the *Brown* decision of the U. S. Supreme Court ruling against segregated public schools.

• • •

We are not unmindful of the difficulties confronting Virginia and other southern states following the *Brown* desion of May 17, 1954. It is not for us to pass upon the wisdom of state legislation, but it is our duty to apply contitutional principles in accordance with the decisions of the U. S. Supreme Court, and when state legislation conflicts with those constitutional principles, state legislation must yield. Irrespective of what may be said by those in public life, we are gratified to note that counsel for the defendants, including the attorney general of Virginia, concede that the decisions of the U. S. Supreme Court are not only binding upon the court but also constitute the law of the land. If there ever existed any room for doubt as to the controlling force of the principles of law enunciated in *Brown v. Board of Education* . . . these doubts were effectively removed when, on September 29, 1958, the Supreme Court handed down its opinion in *Cooper v. Aaron* . . . wherein *Brown* was expressly and unanimously reaffirmed.

Tested by these principles we arrive at the inescapable conclusion that the Commonwealth of Virginia, having accepted and assumed the responsibility of maintaining and operating public schools, cannot act through one of its officers to close one or more public schools in the state solely by reason of the assignment to, or enrollment or presence in, that public school of children of different races or colors, and, at the same time, keep other public schools throughout the state open on a segregated basis. The "equal protection" afforded to all persons and taxpayers is lacking in such a situation. While the State of Virginia, directly or indirectly, maintains and operates a school system with the use of public funds, or participates by arrangement or otherwise in the management of such a school system, no one public school or grade in Virginia may be closed to avoid the effect of the law of the land as interpreted by the Supreme Court, while the state permits other public schools or grades to remain open at the expense

of the taxpayers. In so holding we have considered only the Constitution of the United States, as it is unnecessary, in our opinion, to pass upon the specific provisions of the Constitution of Virginia which deal directly with the free public school system of the state. We do not suggest that, aside from the Constitution of Virginia, the state must maintain a public school system. That is a matter for state determination. We merely point out that the closing of a public school or grade therein, for the reasons heretofore assigned, violates the right of a citizen to equal protection of the law and, as to any children willing to attend a school with a member or members of the opposite race, such a school-closing is a deprivation of due process of law. It follows, therefore, that the defendants must be permanently enjoined from enforcing or attempting to enforce the statutes in question as the same may apply to the public schools of the city of Norfolk.

Class Suit

In the instance proceeding the six schools are closed solely because of resistance to the law of the land as interpreted by the U. S. Supreme Court. The underlying reason is, of course, the mixing of race in these schools by the school board's assignment of 17 Negro children into schools previously attended only by white pupils. The plaintiffs thereupon became a class created by reason of the operation of the massive resistance statutes. They, together with the Negro children, are the subjects of discrimination and are unable to obtain the benefits of public taxation on the same basis as the parents of other children similarly situated. The statutes and the action of the defendants thereunder manifestly constitute a clear and unmistakable disregard of rights secured by the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution.

Local Application

In the event the state of Virginia withdraws from the business of educating its children, and the local governing bodies assume this responsibility, the same principles with respect to equal protection of laws would be controlling as to that particular county or city. While the county or city, directly or indirectly, maintains and operates a school system with the use of public funds, or participates by arrangement or otherwise in the management of such school system, no one public school or grade in the county or city may be closed to avoid the effects of the law of the land while other public schools or grades remain open at the expense of the taxpayers. Such schemes or devices looking to the cutoff of funds for schools or grade affected by the mixing of races, or the closing or elimination of specific grades in such schools, are evasive tactics which have no standing under the law.

Code of Virginia, 1950, as amended, 22-188.6. If we were to assume the validity of this statute, it would certainly be chimerical to conclude that the governor could ever order a reopening of any of the six schools where an effective objection may be registered by any one parent of a child scheduled to attend the school in question. There are a large number of Virginians who are determined that there shall be no mixing of races in public schools under any circumstances, and who cannot be

Ruling

(Continued)

expected willingly to comply, with the anti-discrimination rule established by the 1954 decision of the U. S. Supreme Court. To anticipate that there would be no objection on the part of any parent to the operation of any integrated school would require us to completely disregard what everyone knows to be the fact. To postpone the reopening of a school until the end of all opposition to racial mixing cannot possibly be regarded as a temporary measure . . .

Disassociated with racial questions, the plaintiffs herein, and the class they represent, are not being accorded education on an equal basis.

The injunction to be issued will simply prohibit the defendant, and all other persons in active concert or participation with defendants who receive or have notice or knowledge of the injunctive order, from in any manner, directly or indirectly, taking any steps in pursuance of the unconstitutional statutes here involved. The effect of this injunction will be tantamount to restoring to the school board its rights, duties and obligations which existed prior to the enactment of the unconstitutional statutes including, of course, its obligation to comply with the order of this court heretofore entered on February 26, 1957, in the *Beckett* case. The decree to be entered will not restrain the Commonwealth of Virginia in any sense of the word—it will only prevent defendant state officials and others from endeavoring to enforce the package of unconstitutional laws designed for the purpose of defeating the "law of the land" as expressed in *Cooper v. Aaron* . . .

What we have just said is abundant authority for denying the motion to dismiss the school board as a party defendant, as well as holding that this is not an action against the Commonwealth of Virginia. The school board may not attempt to enforce these unconstitutional acts any more than the governor or attorney general. Neither the board, the other defendants, nor any persons in active concert or participation with defendants, including, of course, the local governing bodies, may resort to evasive schemes which are discriminatory or are designated to evade the court orders. The board is clearly a proper and necessary party to the proceeding.

As to the motion to dismiss the attorney general of Virginia, it is our view that he is also a proper party, although undoubtedly not what may be classified as a necessary part. He is the chief law enforcement officer of the Commonwealth. While he is given no specific statutory duties under the statutes in controversy, he is nevertheless charged with the enforcement of the laws of Virginia. To the end that there will be no misunderstanding of our ruling that the questioned statutes are unconstitutional as in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, we conclude that the attorney general is a proper party to this proceeding and should be included within the terms of any injunctive decree to be entered.

An order has this day been signed by the resident judge directing a further hearing for the purpose of considering the form of decree to be entered in this case.

Arkansas Cannot Afford Issue of Racial Strife

By Erwin L. McDonald
Editor, Arkansas Baptist

Reprinted
From
Arkansas Gazette

Recently the editor was a guest in the home of a young married couple in a large city of a Southern state other than Arkansas. The husband is soon to enter his chosen profession after many years of schooling. The wife has been for several years a member of the public school faculty of the city where they live. Both are natives of the Southland and neither has ever resided outside the South.

During the course of our visit we asked where they planned to make their home. The reply has caused us great concern. Said the husband: "We had planned all along to stay in the South; that is where we would rather be. But it appears now that the South is going to continue to be torn by strife over the race issue for years to come, and we just don't want to be trying to live and bring up a family in the midst of it. We are thinking of settling in the West or the Southwest where the race problem has been solved." Some will say: "If that is the way he feels about it, let him go. We can get along without him." Others will say: "That is a fine way to show his appreciation for what the South has done for him." But the fact remains: the South is about to lose one of its fine young couples to another section of the country—a couple of the caliber we can ill afford to lose.

If we were just losing this one couple, it would not be so bad. But think of the untold thousands of others who are moving out or planning to move, and think of hosts of others who normally would have been moving into the South but have changed their minds. The recent survey of the effect of race strife on business in Little Rock bears this

Arkansas

(Continued)

out. Every realtor who was contacted, and this field was well represented, reported a considerable drop in volume of real estate sales and the consensus of these men was that it was due primarily to the turmoil over integration of the schools. Among the business men contacted who indicated their businesses had not been hurt—and this group was well below half of all the firms contacted—all the firms engaged in the moving business reported gains. There are more residences for rent or sale in Greater Little Rock today than at any other time in recent years.

Of all the states in the South, Arkansas, which has lost its people to other states by the hundred thousands in recent years, can least afford to be embroiled in the race squabble. Arkansas is the only state in the South and one of only two or three in the nation which the population experts say will in the coming years have fewer people than they have today. Many of the states, particularly of the West and Southwest, are expected to continue to have phenomenal growths.

Arkansas is like a person incapacitated from loss of blood and who is still bleeding. In such a situation, anything that fails to check the flow of blood is worthless to the patient. And anything that opens new wounds is deadly. Let us follow the wise course of the great Southern state of Virginia and face the reality of the only course open to us—reopening our public school system of the entire state.

Whatever hurts or hinders our public school system hurts everything of value throughout the state. The welfare of churches, homes, business, and our people of all races and creeds will be affected for better or for worse according to the extent and the quality of our public education.

The immortal Robert E. Lee declared, following the Civil War:

The thorough education of all classes of people is the most efficacious means, in my opinion, of promoting the prosperity of the South. The material interests of its citizens, as well as their moral and intellectual culture, depend upon its accomplishment.

Said the late Dr. George Truett, for more than 40 years pastor of First Baptist Church, Dallas:

The supreme task of Christ's people is to convert it (the world) into a true Christian brotherhood. How incongruous is ignorance and how important is knowledge, in such incomparable momentous times as these!

Let us solve our problems quickly and compassionately in the interest of the preservation of our greatest asset—our people.

No Sanity For Us!

United Press International reports this one from Montgomery, Alabama—a group of unidentified men passed out handbills at a meeting of the Montgomery Mental Health Society. The handbills, bearing a Ku Klux Klan imprint, were titled: "Mental Health—A Marxist weapon."

Highlights from Recent Literature

New South summarizes recently published periodical, pamphlet, and book length material of interest to its readers. These synopses liberally paraphrase and condense the statements of the authors, although direct quotations are used whenever economy permits.

American Jewish Congress. **BOMBINGS AND HATE SHEETS — A PROGRAM TO COMBAT LAWLESSNESS.** Pamphlet, available at no cost from American Jewish Congress, 15 East 84th Street, New York 28, N.Y. 22 pages.

The current wave of anti-Semitism must be considered an aspect of the general outbreak of lawlessness in the South since the United States Supreme Court's racial desegregation decisions, a lawlessness which is the inevitable consequence of disrespect for law. When the leaders of state governments express their defiance of the Constitution, they set an example for the entire community. Lawlessness on high levels leads inevitably to lawlessness on low levels.

All proposals for approaching the problem of anti-defamation and violence must reach the basic disease of disrespect for law, not the merely superficial symptoms. Furthermore, all approaches must be sought within the framework of constitutional limitations.

On the basis that any approach to an effective solution must involve corrective action on the part of both Congress and the executive branch of the Federal government, the AJC proposes a program for Federal action which includes: (1) enactment of a measure that would make it a Federal offense to transport explosives in interstate commerce with the intent to use them unlawfully against communal buildings and private residences and places of business; (2) a concentrated effort by the Department of Justice and the Federal Bureau of Investigation to determine to what extent the recent bombings in the South violate existing Federal laws, to apprehend the guilty and bring them to justice; (3) a full-scale Justice Department Investigation of the denial of voting rights in the South; (4) enactment by Congress of a statute requiring all departments of the Federal government to share in the responsibility for the effective implementation of the Supreme Court's decision on racial integration; (5) a conference of national leaders, to be summoned by the President, to dramatize the breakdown of law in the South, to awaken the conscience of the South, and to remind all that respect for law is a responsibility of all persons.

* * *

Montgomery, Jim. **"THE ECONOMIC EFFECTS OF SCHOOL CLOSING."** (Lecture in Emory University Short Course). Copies available from Southern Regional Council.

If public education is abandoned in Georgia, the economic impact will be staggering. Public education itself is a big business. Some of the immediate consequences, should the closing of a single school force the closing of all public schools, include: loss of more than $300 million a year in economic

Highlights

(Continued)

activity stimulated by wages and salaries of public school employees; loss of the $5 to $10 million a year provided to Georgia schools by the federal government; postponement of graduation for about 30,000 high school students a year—at a cost of more than $100 million a year in lost earning power; immediate settlement of millions of dollars in outstanding school bonds by local government.

Consideration of these and other consequences of the abandonment lead Mr. Montgomery to conclude that the resultant losses would have a snowballing effect on Georgia's entire economy—gradual, at first, but eventually affecting nearly everyone. Meanwhile, the very uncertainty that clouds the future of Georgia's public school system is having an adverse effect on the recruiting of qualified technicians, teachers, and management-level personnel needed right now by the universities and some industries. It is clear that abandonment of the present school system will cause the state to lose new industry as well as hurting industry already here. To whatever extent Georgia abandons its present system of public education, it will: (1) arrest the economic progress of the past two decades; (2) undermine its present economic strength; (3) cause the abandonment of its otherwise bright opportunities for continued—and still desperately needed—economic growth.

* * *

Dykeman, Wilma. **"THE MAN IN THE GREY FLANNEL SHEET."** The *Progressive*, February, 1959, p. 8.

It seems likely that the final resolution to conflict in the South will be determined largely by the middle-of-the-road man, who so far has drawn what might whimsically be called his grey flannel sheet around himself and by his own timidity invited further intimidation. The term gray flannel is appropriate here. It is a national symbol, suggesting a certain status, a set of habits and attitudes, indeed, a way of life.

Like his Northern counterpart (the Southerner who is "pulling his grey flannel sheet over his head") is sharply concerned about his job and a promotion, or his business and its increase. And in segregation-integration he recognizes an issue of such emotional proportions that deep involvement on either side can mean only trouble for his own ambitions.

Some of the basic forces enervating (Southerners under "grey flannel sheets") and their counterparts everywhere are: (1) the dedication to security, and its Siamese twin, conformity; (2) the vogue of anti- intellectualism; and (3) the relinquishment of deep human issues to purely political leadership.

Through these influences, the paradox becomes apparent that some of the changes which have brought the upper middle class Southerner more into the mainstream of the national life, have also brought flaws which by their very nature keep him from fully entering into that mainstream. Which is more powerful: the security of neighbors' approval in the present, or the security of helping build a just future?

. . . Unquote

"It would appear to me that it is in the best interest of the community that we uphold the unanimous action of our [Dade County, Fla.] school board of men and women who are sufficiently informed of the state laws and the local situation to make a decision [to desegregate a school] evidently in the best interest of the community."

The Reverend J. Calvin Rose, President,
Greater Miami Council of Churches
Quoted in *The Miami Herald*

• • •

"I share with many of my fellow students a great deal of respect and admiration for the two new [Negro] students. Hammond citizens, we think, have provided a fine example in Christian living."

Paul Claussen, Senior
at desegregated Hammond High School
Arlington,
Quoted in *Washington Post*

• • •

"Laws designed to prevent bombing of churches, schools and private dwellings won't be much good unless we are able to cultivate a climate of greater good will, moderation and tolerance throughout the state. Politicians who speak out against violence and prepare legislation designed to outlaw it defeat their own purpose when they speak in inflammatory tones against the United States government and anyone else who seeks to solve differences within a framework of conciliation, peace and law."

From an Editorial
in *The Cheraw* (S.C.) *Chronicle*

"As an organization, we're out of business. We found it difficult to sustain interest in our movement."

R. L. Moore, Vice President,
The Citizens Government Council, Inc.,
Forsyth County, N. C., Segregation Group,
Quoted in *Winston-Salem Journal*

• • •

"It's time for a constructive program to get our children educated. That's the important thing. It has been perfectly natural for us to postpone as long as possible an issue of desegregation that we didn't want to face. But we are faced with it now and the issue must be resolved in the best interest of our children."

From an Editorial
in the *Houston Home Journal*

• • •

"Control of public education must not pass from the state into the hands of private interests. Free public schools must be kept open."

Florida Education Assn.
Quoted in *Miami News*

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"Virginians are to be commended for the dignity with which they met the problem of integrating 21 Negroes into schools of Norfolk and Arlington County. The fact that the first two days of integrated schools went off without untoward incident speaks well for the restraint of citizens of Norfolk and Arlington County."

From an Editorial
in the *Columbus* (Ga.) *Ledger*